AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Charlie Chaplin looks at U.S.A.

By Cedric Belfrage

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VEVEY, SWITZERLAND

"I NO LONGER HAVE ANY USE for America at all. I wouldn't go back there if Jesus Christ was President."

The speaker was the man who, of all others, has been longest identified by most of the world with the good things that have come out of America. For 14 hours straight, in his paradise-in-exile near Vevey, Switzerland, Charles Chaplin talked to me about America and himself. I told him that to hear his bitter verdict was difficult for me—likewise an exile from America, but determined to go back.

"Yes," he said, "I feel bitter—very bitter. But remember that for 15 years I was hounded as a 'communist' and persecuted as if I were a criminal—and once faced 25 years in jail for 'white slavery' and whatever else they could throw in . . . if it hadn't been for a few on that jury."

He is a man of moods but, looking back over his 66 fabulous years, his frankness was clearly more than a mood. Yet as he talked his spirit danced constantly back and forth from hilarity to gravity, from mocking denunciation of principalities and powers to humorous tenderness about individual human beings. Bitter in his unforgiveness even of "Americans" in general—but tender in his remembrance of the woman on that Los Angeles jury who, stony-faced throughout his famous paternity-"white slavery" trial, came up after the verdict and said to him:

"They can't do that to you. America is still a free country."

Thus Charles Chaplin. Take him as you find him—the genius with the infinite contradictions of one, the egotist in love with life and people—and be thankful.

YOU DON'T WASTE the precious moments with him by talking except to prompt him occasionally; not even if you are one of the crowned heads or international celebrities who vie with journalists for the chance to visit him. You let him talk, and this is how the pieces he offered of his story and philosophy fit together:

"I am the same person I always was—always a rebel and partly a gipsy. At 12, in the East End of London, I was furious if the king was going by in procession and I was prevented from crossing the street. I didn't like the class lines that held down poor people like myself and, when I went to America 45 years ago, I felt I'd rather sling hash there than be a Lord Peabody in England.

"But then I flip-flopped into success from being a frightened, lonely person, and it was the greatest thing that ever happened to me. I suddenly realized it on a train from Hollywood to New York in 1916 after making my first few films. I was shaving as we pulled into Albuquerque, New Mexico, but they hauled me out and held the train while the mayor and cheering population entertained me at a banquet on the flag-decorated platform. In Chicago I had to get on the roof of the train to get clear of the mob of fans. In New York, because they feared a riot, the police took me off the train and into the city by car, and the newspapers headlined in their biggest type: HE'S HERE!

"Success brought life into focus and showed me the hollowness of men who run the world and of their solemn pronouncements. Overnight, people were coming to me for my opinion on things I knew nothing whatever about. I began to wonder: if they ask me for my opinion, whom won't they ask, and why should I believe the others know any more about it than I do?

"Then I was sought out by Rockefellers and Vanderbilts and, realizing that America had its own kind of aristocracy and snobbery, I knew I wasn't able to be a patriot anywhere in the sense they talk about. I had learned that a man must depend on himself. The only thing you can believe in is yourself—you must fight for what you want.

"I don't believe in any country 'right or wrong,' and all this talk about being grateful to America or any other country for opportunity is nonsense. People said I was 'ungrateful' because I never became a citizen—that I was biting the hand that fed me. Nonsense! I never got more than 30% of my income from America—all the rest from other countries that showed my films. I told them I was a very well-paying guest of America.

"In any case I never really felt part of America although I lived there so long, and living again in Europe is wonderful, wonderful! As for Hollywood, what can you say of an industry that has earned such fortunes out of the people and has never even thought of giving a million or so to endow a department of drama in a university or build a wing on a hospital? All it has ever produced for the public benefit is a race-track."

Today, with all his once-vast interests in America sold, Chaplin is the world's most independently wealthy moviemaker and insists:

"I do not need the American market for my films. I will never allow any of my pictures which I control to be shown in America again."

At the same time, when Russian and Chinese officials beg him to sell copies of his films for $5,000, he tells them:

"You have to pay the same price as anyone else. You forget you're not dealing with a Communist, but with a capitalist."

HE RECALLS the salutation that started him on the road to exile:

"Comrades! Yes, I greet you as comrades, and I greet our Russian allies as comrades."

Chaplin said that early in World War II to 10,000 San Franciscans at a Russian War Relief meeting—where he substituted for the ailing U.S. ambassador to Moscow. Soon after came the paternity suit ending in "white slavery" charges, brought by "this woman who was mad and of whom actually I was

(Continued on Page 4)

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What it takes to put a smile on Dulles' face

Our peripatetic Secy. of State seems positively in raptures as he sits with Washington's staunchest European ally, Gen. Franco, in Madrid. For the reasons for the visit, see below.

WAR & PEACE

Dulles takes side-trips to bolster shaky policies

By Tabitha Petran

AT THE GENEVA Foreign Ministers Conference, the U.S. position was described (N.Y. **Post**, 11/1) as never before "so vulnerable, so disparate and so incohesive." Amid admissions that the U.S. has no policy to meet the new situations developing with the relative easing of international tension, Washington busily tried to repair its "positions of strength."

One such effort was Secy. Dulles' "cordial" visit with the "free world's" Gen. Franco—a mission, undertaken with British and French support, said **Business Week** (11/5), and designed to "prepare the ground" for Spain's admission to NATO. North Africa, where, from Spanish Morocco, Franco has been aiding the Arabs against the French, was high on the Dulles-Franco agenda. Spain, whose policy is anti-French rather than pro-Arab, has demanded the right to participate in future decisions affecting the area. NATO, too, has been trying to move in on France's North African crisis.

AIMED AT CHINA: Dulles clearly aimed to strengthen U.S. control over its divided allies—perhaps by playing them off against each other still further—as well as to shore up the U.S.'s vast military structure in the western Mediterranean.

BW (10/29) said that in Madrid and Rome where he had gone earlier to squelch a growing movement for recognition of China, Dulles was strongly pressed to secure admission of his host country to the UN. As a result, the State Dept. was reported "reconsidering" its hostility to Canada's "package deal" for admission of new members to UN. (Following a Soviet proposal to admit 16 countries—Jordan, Libya, Nepal, Ceylon, Cambodia, Laos, Ireland, Italy, Austria, Portugal, all western supported, and Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, Rumania, Outer Mongolia, Finland—Canada added Spain and Japan to the list, campaigned for simultaneous entry of all 18.)

TALKS WITH TITO: In another side-trip Dulles flew to Brioni Island for a talk with Tito aimed primarily at reviving the dying Yugoslav-Turkish-Greek pact.

(Continued on Page 5)

2 FULL PAGES
OF
BARGAIN GIFTS
FOR THE
HOLIDAY SEASON
OFFERED BY THE
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SEE PAGES 6-7

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THE MAIL BAG

The Syracuse story

NEW YORK, N. Y.

My suggestion to the Syracuse couple who were visited by an FBI agent is that they stand pat on their decision not to turn "stoolies."

I was once called on by such an agent who used the same gimmick to try to get into my apartment. I did not let him enter—he wanted information on a young man who applied for a government job. The young man in question lived in the same apartment house. I found out later that the young man did not apply for a government job.

I feel sorry for the young mother in Syracuse. She made a mistake in asking the agent in and a further mistake by talking to him about her friends—and telling him she could not afford parties, etc. Why did she get so chatty with this smooth Gestapo agent? She made mistakes in regard to this, but the only thing left for her to do is to stick to her decision not to talk to the agent again—not to allow him in her house. **I. C. S**

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

If I were in this couple's place, I would go to the Governor and ask his opinion, and particularly his advice on how to act in such a case. It will be interesting and instructive to hear what he has to say about the procedure the FBI follows these days; and also ask him, in plain words, whether the FBI has a right to make such demands. **A Reader**

Look out below!

CHICAGO, ILL.

Who but Gen. MacArthur would conclude that other planets are less developed mentally than we are? AP dispatch gives Naple's Mayor Lauro's report of a visit with MacArthur: "He [the general] believes that all countries on earth will have to unite to survive and to make a common front against attack by people from other planets!" Ego super-colossal? Naw! Super-PLANETARY! **Dr. Ralph R. Sackley**

Mud in your eye

ABERDEEN, WASH.

News item in local paper:

LOS ANGELES (AP)—Calling all weepers. The UCLA medical center wants tears for smog research. Dr. Robert Brunish announced a study of the chemical makeup of tears may yield a clue to the eye-irritating factor in smog.

Any mining engineer, metallurgist or minerologist can tell these characters what the score is on smog. **Anthony George**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Nicky [Nikita Khrushchev] like his predecessors, claims that communism has abolished prostitution in Russia. But he neglected to mention that under the Soviet system of "equality" of sexes the Russian woman is losing a quality essential to women everywhere. That quality is femininity.

Khrushchev spoke of prostitution as "degrading." It certainly is. But at least prostitution is indisputably feminine, whereas digging ditches and driving steamrollers—as women do in Russia—is certainly unfeminine.

Andrew Tully, from Leningrad, N. Y. World-Telegram, Oct. 26.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. We are deluged with this from many readers in the same mail and could make no single selection on the winner. Conclusion: GUARDIAN readers are most alert readers in U. S.

Mrs. Alex Wright

PITTSBURGH, PA.

We regret to inform you of the passing in Londonbridge, Va., of Mrs. Eva Wright, wife of Alexander Wright, chairman of the Progressive Party of Western Pennsylvania.

Alex Wright is one of the present day giants of the progressive movement in the U. S., and indeed in the whole world. He is one of the outstanding representatives of the Negro people and a fighter from away back.

For the last two or three years Mrs. Wright tried to hide the [illegible]cousness of her poor physical condition. Hers is typical of the sacrifices of the great leaders of the working people. We in Western Pa. are trying to help as much as we can, but ours is now a two-fold job. Our meager contributions must also continue to support the work of the PP. We are therefore appealing to the many friends of the Wrights to pitch in at this crucial time. Please send whatever contribution you can to Alexander Wright, P. O. Box 16, Londonbridge, Va. **Ruth and Julius Poritz**

Lasagna with love

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Despite teeming rain all day Sunday, Oct. 30, it didn't dampen the spirits of stalwart GUARDIAN supporters. Thirty guests of sunny spirit and hearty appetite came to enjoy a good repast and an evening of fun. The result is $85 for our beloved GUARDIAN. Special thanks to the two friends who not only paid for their dinners but helped wash dishes for the other 30 guests. It's easy to make a dinner for the GUARDIAN. **The Bakers**

Social scientists, unite!

PARIS, FRANCE

The trouble with Americans is that they think that by supporting the trade unions they are taking the most important step to raise the level of progressive ideas in America. This is wrong. Consciousness can only be brought into the trade union movement from without. History shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness: necessity for organization, for fighting employers, for agitating for good labor legislation, and so on.

Progressive mentality can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. Modern economic science is as much a condition for production (even in socialist countries) as modern technology. Workers can create neither the one nor the other, however much they may desire to do so. Both arise out of the modern social process.

Of course, workers do participate, and in increasing numbers, in the advancement of the progressive outlook, but they do not do so as workers. They do so as educated social scientists with a progressive ideology. They take part only to the extent that they are able, more or less, to acquire the knowledge of their age and advance that knowledge. In order that workers may do this more often, efforts must be made to raise the level of consciousness of the workers and all people generally. We have to get them out of the grip of reactionary propaganda. Everything that does this is necessary. The GUARDIAN is vital. **Joe Avincenna**

The stormy South

BELHAVEN, N. C.

I think Don West is doing rather well in the prose field down in Dalton, Ga., at the moment. His writing in the midst of actual combat is very sharp, and, in the spheres of logic and humanity, his adversaries must feel quite put to flight.

This poverty-stricken section of the South is a disaster area in the best of times, but now, after four hurricanes since last Oct. 15, ruining the fishing, farming, and tourist business (all we have) in our neighborhood, severe privation and actual hunger are, to us, considerably closer home than in India; however, I hope to be able to send you $3 soon. **Vernon Ward**

Pick-a-back

NEW YORK, N. Y.

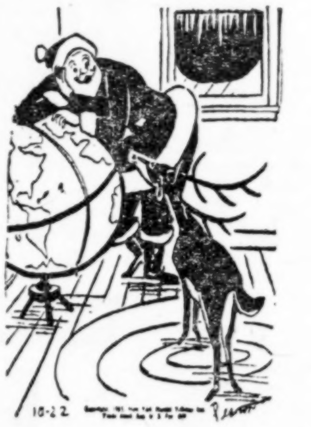
Should Ike decide
To step aside
Whose coat-tails then
Will Nixon ride?

L. G.

Cleanse the Commonwealth

ELSINORE, CALIF.

Have masters of industry failed to learn that chattel slavery ended at Appomattox, to bring that Negro citizenship which they seek to subvert? Is Mississippi to be scorned as the Shame of the Nation, to be classed with oppressors who tortured and burned blameless minority people? Awaken, workers! Assume responsibility to cleanse the Commonwealth and establish justice! **Harry F. Kane**



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"It's not too early to plan our route what with all the radar nets we'll have to avoid."

Answers Harvard grad

NEW YORK, N. Y.

To me, the question whether an economic depression can be "delayed" is a basic one. It involves the tenets of our economic beliefs. Undoubtedly the capitalists think it can be delayed or even avoided. They believe, with very few exceptions, that increased armament spending and certain government subsidies, coupled with the ruthless suppression of labor and militant organizations of the people will do the trick. The liberals too, undoubtedly want to believe it is possible, if it can be sugar-coated with a few reformist measures just to ease their guilty conscience a trifle. But to imply that a capitalist depression can be "delayed," necessarily implies at the same time that capitalism is not anarchistic, that it can be made to function rationally. In another word, it implies that capitalism can be "controlled." Thus, to agree with this assumption is knowingly or unknowingly to embrace a part of Keynesism.

Depression under capitalism will come when all its contradictions reach a breaking point. If Miss Petran admitted that the present so-called economic boom may well continue for a year or so, she merely made an estimate of the actual status of our economy, and in no way implied that the capitalists had succeeded in delaying the oncoming crisis. What is more important is that in no way did she try to compete with the apologists of capitalism on who can make the best suggestion for delaying it. Nor does she advocate that we too, outdistancing the liberals, adopt as our program the delaying or avoiding of another depression. This is rightly so. For one thing, we know that it is impossible. We well remember that what followed the New Deal was an almost complete cycle of war and recession. This may not be the fault of the New Deal. But it surely does not attest to its success as a deterrent to either depression or war. We cannot explain away the cold war, the violent onslaught upon civil liberties, the Korean war and other present-day ills as isolated incidents not related to the New Deal period. For the few concessions the American people wrested from the capitalists, they have paid back a thousand fold in blood and toil.

How can we now propose to the American people that they go through this same cycle again? How can we place our hope in another New Deal, or in a capitalistic party which was responsible for the cold war, the Korean war, the use of the atom bomb, Taft-Hartley and the rest? For another thing, our memory is not that short that we forget so readily the recent lesson of the British Labour Party during the post-war years. Do we, by any stretch of our imagination, believe that the ruling class in this country will affect such changes as the nationalization of industries and the establishment of social medicine?

I agree with "Harvard graduate" that "in struggling along with the American people in their fight to obtain greater welfare measures from their government, we are creating a situation in which the social and political consciousness of the American can not help but increase." But a lot depends on how we behave. If we were to mislead the people into believing that depression and other evils of the system can be delayed or even avoided, that capitalism still can do a lot for their welfare and material standards, then the social and political consciousness may increase quantitatively but not qualitatively. Without clearly bringing forth the socialist alternatives, what is there to stop the confused and frustrated people from looking upon the Democratic Party as having the better methods of delaying and avoiding depression while the Republicans are in power, and vice versa?

What is there to prevent the so-called progressives from being merely nostalgic about the good old days of the New Deal instead of leading the people toward a real future?

Any pie-card can promise members of a trade union to get more pork chops for them or to get them a short term contract for a wage increase. It remains for real trade union leadership to actually look after the long-range interests of the rank and file. **M. T. C.**

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Suspicion is the companion of mean souls, and the bane of all good society.—THOMAS PAINE.

REPORT TO READERS

It's party time

NOW COMES the turn of the year, during which it has become the custom of many friends of the GUARDIAN in all corners of our country to gather together and clink glasses with us at the outset of a new "Vol." and the successful fulfillment of the one just closed.

Completing Volume 7 of the GUARDIAN has been especially satisfying, since victories have come in sight on so many of the fronts on which this paper and its readers have battled shoulder to shoulder since 1948. There is good hope that Volume 8 may record for us a year of giant strides toward final fulfillment of lasting peace and world brotherhood.

OUR NEW YORK FRIENDS will be coming together on Thursday, Nov. 17, with our most venerated friend and advocate, Dr. William E. Burghardt Du Bois, as toastmaster. This has been an "annual" at this time of year since we turned five years old in 1953, and in more modest form in earlier years. Each year welcome new faces appear among the celebrants; but most remarkable is the number of our original band of boosters for whom the GUARDIAN's anniversary is the event of the year.

OUT LOS ANGELES WAY the date is Saturday, Dec. 3, and the event our annual dinner-dance-show which Tom the Trumpeter (q. v., p. 9) has been blowing fanfares about in our "ad" columns for a month or more. This, too, has been a big-time "annual" since we turned five and the way the Los Angeles people have figured to run it, every couple coming brings $15 in new subs, pledges or contributions. Rustling up the $15 usually means much ado beforehand, with pre-dinner activities ranging from baby-sitting and brunches to gourmet suppers and hi-fi flings as well as old-fashioned doorbell ringing. A couple of us here have been lucky enough to be on hand for previous L. A. "annuals" and, speaking from experience, we urge you not to miss this one if you're anywhere within Freeway reach. There will be dancing to a fine orchestra, good food, new entertainment.

UP NORTH IN CALIFORNIA, one big coming-up GUARDIAN event is the East Bay New Year's dinner and party, with radio commentator Sidney Roger as co-host. In addition our San Francisco friends are planning a GUARDIAN New Year's party of its own.

There will be more in these columns as these events shape up. Meanwhile you might start thinking of a GUARDIAN New Year's party among your neighborhood friends. Next week we'll give you some ideas on this from an expert.

Plans are afoot, too, for a Minneapolis-St. Paul get-together during the week of Dec. 11. We'll keep you posted. Meanwhile, why not keep us posted on what you and your friends can, will or would like to do, in recognition of this fast-spreading custom of GUARDIAN anniversary affairs? **—THE GUARDIAN**

INFORMER RACKET BLASTED

Waterfront screening illegal; victims may get back pay

WHEN THE FRENZY kicked up by the Korean War was at its height in 1950, the Magnuson Act became law; under it the Coast Guard began "screening" seamen and longshoremen off the waterfront—and out of their jobs—as security risks. An accused maritime worker never had a chance under Coast Guard regulations; all he ever knew was that he was suddenly denied "clearance" and a chance to make a living at his own profession.

On Oct. 26 the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, sitting in San Francisco, knocked the bottom out of the screening program, blasted the use of secret informers, upheld the right of a worker to his job, took a swipe at the government's own security program, and opened the way to possible recovery of back wages by hundreds of victimized seamen. The Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union paper, **The Dispatcher,** called it "a stunning decision."

ARE INFORMERS VITAL? Last week the 2 to 1 decision was under intensive study in Washington; it was the heaviest single blow yet against the entire U. S. security mania. But at GUARDIAN press time the government had not yet decided whether to take an appeal to the Supreme Court.

The majority opinion was written by Judge Walter Pope and concurred in by Judge Thomas F. McAllister. A dissent by Judge William Healy was based not on the merits of the case but solely on the ground that he thought the issue should be decided by the Supreme Court.

The ruling did not hold the Magnuson Act unconstitutional (it was conceded that in wartime drastic measures might be warranted), but it held that Coast Guard application of the Act clearly violated the Fifth Amendment guarantee of due process of law:

> "The question is: Is this system of secret informers, whisperers and talebearers of such vital importance to the public welfare that it must be preserved at the cost of denying to the citizen even a modicum of the protection traditionally associated with due process?"

You'd think Harry Truman was running again, judging by the way he's flitting about the country, giving a blessing here, a slap there. Whatever he's telling Adlai Stevenson apparently is not to the liking of the reluctant Adlai who's running madly for the nomination.

PERIL TO ALL: The court saw a threat to the entire population:

> "In considering the public interest in the presence of a system under which unidentified informers are encouraged to make unchallengeable statements about their neighbors, it is not amiss to bear in mind whether or not we must look forward to a day when substantially everyone will have to contemplate the possibility that his neighbors are being encouraged to make reports to the FBI about what he says, what he reads and what meetings he attends."

In answer to a Coast Guard contention that the seven seamen and three longshoremen who took the case to court had not "exhausted their remedies," the court said:

> "Here, plainly, these plaintiffs have no adequate or any remedy at law. The damages of which they complain are irreparable. They have lost their opportunities for employment, some of them for months, and some for years, and will continue to suffer such loss in the future if the [Coast Guard] be not enjoined from enforcement of the regulations complained of. . . . Under this screening system there is no provision whatever for notice and opportunity to be heard as generally understood to be required by the provisions of the Fifth Amendment relating to due process."

A CLEAR RIGHT: On the general nature of the secret informer, the court said:

> "Of course, if the seaman knew the [informer's] identity he might discover that the informant was a person who had been a bitter rival for some union position or a person possessed of motives likely to induce complete fabrication of the report."

The right of a seaman to his job was defended in this language:

> "The liberty to follow their chosen employment is no doubt a right more clearly entitled to constitutional protection than the right of a government employe to obtain or retain his job."

The government's own security program came in for this harsh criticism:

> "It is a matter of public record that the somewhat comparable security risk program directed at government employes has been used to victimize perfectly innocent men. The objective of perpetuating a doubtful system of secret informers likely to bear upon the innocent as well as the guilty and carrying so high a degree of unfairness to the merchant seamen involved cannot justify an abandonment here of the ancient standards of due process."

BACK PAY FOR 500: Richard Gladstein, one of three lawyers who conducted the seamen's case, announced that he will file a motion for back wages for all those barred from employment under the screening process; he estimated that some 500 workers in the Bay area would be affected with the total amount of money involved running into several hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The ILWU executive board in a resolution adopted Oct. 28 said the decision "should mark the close of this blacklisting and union-busting operation."

The siren song on the Potomac

EAR-SPLITTING air raid sirens momentarily disturbed the sweetness and light which has surrounded the American visit of 10 Russian housing experts [in Washington].

I. K. Kozuilia and A. F. Dubrovin, top men in the Soviet group, were in the midst of a conference with officials of the Housing and Home Finance Agency when the air raid siren started blasting.

"What is this?" asked Kozuilia in bewilderment.

"An air raid siren," replied Charles E. Sigety, acting head of the Federal Housing Administration. "We're not having an air raid though, it's just a test."

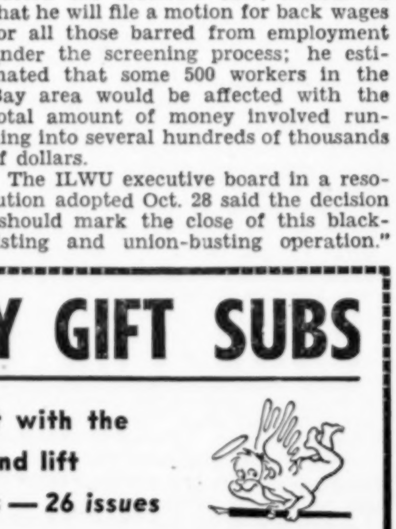
"What for?" asked Kozuilia.

Everybody forced a laugh and tried to continue the housing discussion. Nobody mentioned the Rusisan air force or the civil defense evacuation program now being drafted by District officials.

Dubrovin became edgy as the siren wail continued. Kozuilia said his colleague was "in the war" and the siren "reminds him of extremely unpleasant things."

It's no wonder the visitors were taken aback by the air raid siren test in Washington, said a spokesman at the Russian Embassy here. "We do not have such things in Russia," said the spokesman.

—Washington **Post,** Nov. 2.



Carrefour, Paris

"Everybody's going to Russia. Can't you suggest something original?"

ATTY. GEN. CALLED STRIKEBREAKER

Mine, Mill cites Brownell tie to industry in fight on government union-busting

ATTY. GEN. HERBERT BROWNELL was attacked as a strikebreaker and a man who used his high office to help out a personal and political pal in a labor dispute by an attorney for the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union on Oct. 27. The charges were made during a hearing before the Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington in a series of arguments to block a Justice Dept. move to have the union designated as a "communist-infiltrated organization."

Attorney Joseph Forer for the union said that Brownell, by invoking the Communist Control Act of 1954 against the union while it was on strike against the major copper producing companies, was using the law as a "strikebreaking weapon." He also declared that Brownell is a "personal and political" friend of the chairman of the board of one of the struck companies.

STRAUS' BUDDY: Forer mentioned no names, but the Mine, Mill paper last Aug. 15 reported that the union had asked Sen. Harley Kilgore, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, to probe "a possible relationship" between Brownell and "the non-ferrous metals industry," and said:

> "The Attorney General is known to have had a long and close association with Roger W. Straus, chairman of the board of American Smelting & Refining Co. Straus was chief financial backer of the Republican Natl. Committee when Brownell was chairman of the Committee. Straus and Brownell worked closely in a number of Dewey New York State and Presidential campaigns."

The AS&R is one of the Big Four in the industry and its 12 plants had been struck for 36 days when Brownell on July 28 announced his action against the union. Said Mine, Mill:

> "We believe there may be more than coincidence in Brownell's sudden attempt to exploit his official capacity as Attorney General to rescue this corporation, which has been pushing so hard for a settlement lower than the industry patterns."

"SCANDALOUS" CHARGES: Forer in his argument before the SACB said the Justice Dept.'s petition against the union was filled with "scandalous and scurrilous" charges and "could only have the effect of attempting to arouse public opinion against the union." He added that any government official "with a sense of decency" would have waited till the end of the strike before instituting the action.

Forer also called for a preliminary hearing to determine if SACB chairman Thomas J. Herbert and board member Harry P. Cain should be disqualified in the case. He charged that both men, together with Justice Dept. officials, last May attended a closed meeting of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee where "pressure" was put on the SACB to move against Mine, Mill. The union is the first one to be cited under the law passed in the last hectic days of the 83rd Congress when "liberal" Democrats sought to prove they were rougher on Reds than Republicans were.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Belfrage: an interview with Chaplin

(Continued from Page 1)

scared to death." Then he double- and triple-branded himself a "communist" by speeches in New York and Chicago for opening the Second Front, in which he said:

> "The Russians are dying for us by the hundreds of thousands. But I know that Americans like to do their own fighting and dying."

In the post-war witch-hunt he was summoned to account for his politics and morals by the Un-American Activities Committee; the subpena was withdrawn, possibly because the Committee learned of his intention to go there as "Charlot" with the big feet and burlesque the burlesque. Public attacks on him intensified, and FBI agents kept calling and asking ominously: "Did you say **'comrades'**?"

He told them he wasn't and never had been a Communist, but didn't know anything about communism and couldn't hate something he knew nothing about. His respectable firm of lawyers helpfully suggested that he could clear the thing up very simply—by denouncing the Communist Party. He wouldn't do it. Actually he had at one time, after the Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact, been very anti-Communist; but even before that he had convicted himself, in the eyes of the Catholic War Veterans and American Legion, of "premature anti-fascism" by producing **The Great Dictator.**

WHEN HE and his American wife Oona finally left America with their four children, it was only two days out at sea that he knew he would never return. The news that if he did he would be held on Ellis Island for a politico-moral inquisition came over the ship's radio. He decided then, but did not say so publicly, that he would live thenceforward in Europe. The problem was to liquidate his American holdings and get the money out, so that he could continue to produce films independent of any outside financing as he had been doing for years.

He brought it off by the breadth of two hairs. When the sale negotiations were completed, he told his agent to fly over with a certified check on the next plane. Two days later the U.S. authorities—although his taxes were fully paid up—claimed an additional $500,000 on the ground that he was "still a U.S. resident" in 1953 (he had already bought the house at Vevey in 1952).

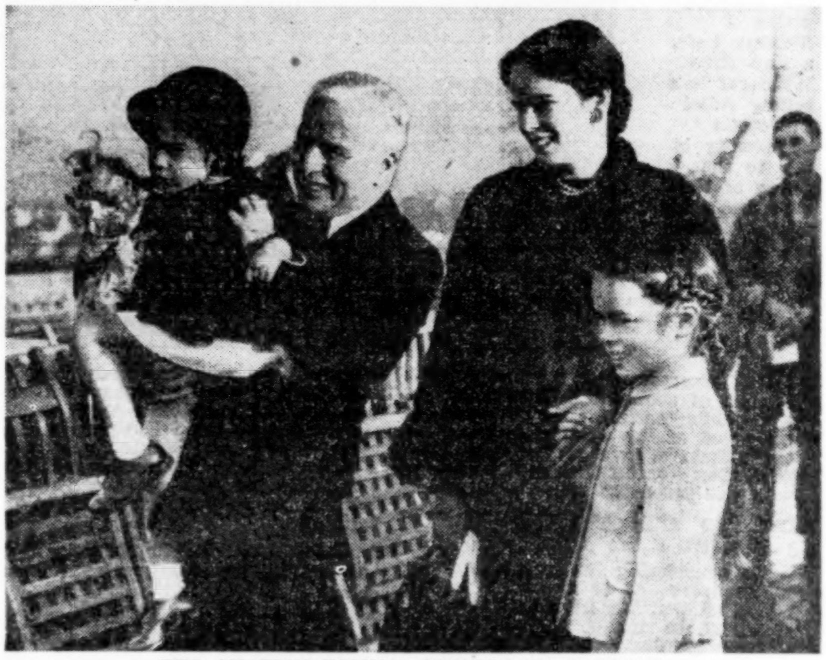
Then there was the matter of some $4,000,000 in securities which lay in his safe-deposit box in a Los Angeles bank. Oona flew 6,000 miles and went to the bank with a suitcase. The bank said there was no authorization for her to have access to the safe-deposit, but dug up the mis-filed card a few minutes before closing for the week-end. Oona shoveled the securities into the suitcase and landed in Geneva with it next day, while Chaplin went "almost mad with worry" because of reports of storms over the Atlantic, thinking he might have endangered her on such a mission.

The rest of Oona's job "back home," which she had approached with a heavy heart, was to liquidate their Beverly Hills home, paying off with generous pensions the staff there and in the Chaplin studio. In just a few hours with these people who had been like part of the family for years, Oona lost her sadness in parting forever with her native land. They told her of constant visits by FBI agents who had been trying in every way to elicit "evidence" of immorality and "communism."

"Didn't he have wild parties with naked women?" was typical of the questions with which the staff had been bombarded. All they could reply was: "We have been with Mr. Chaplin for years and he has always behaved like a gentleman to us and everyone." The staff wept as the home and studio were finally liquidated; but Oona was so disgusted that she felt she had nothing in America and was glad to say goodbye to it.

NOT LONG AFTERWARDS she went with Charlie to the U.S. Consulate in Geneva where he turned in his American re-entry permit. "I won't be needing it," Charlie said. The consul was flustered but agreeable, and Charlie did not like to embarrass him further by taking that opportunity for the final business they had with official America. Next time they went to London, Oona formally renounced her citizenship at the U.S. Embassy there.

In Europe, from the outset, everyone had gone out of his way to welcome Chaplin as a great artist and show contempt for his American persecutors. There was a cordial visit with Winston Churchill whom he had known for a long time; later, however, he sent Churchill a plea to intercede in an American case of cold-war injustice, which was not even acknowledged. There was a banquet given for him by top members of the House of Lords and Commons. Sitting next to Labourite Herbert Morrison, Chaplin asked why the Labour government had sold out so cheaply to Washington, granting it bases in Britain with almost nothing in return. When Chaplin said he thought the entire cold-war policy was wrong, Morrison said: "I entirely disagree," and turned coldly away.



THE CHAPLIN FAMILY ARRIVES IN ENGLAND

As honored guest at a Dickens Society dinner commemorating the novelist, Chaplin the self-styled "peacemonger" developed his theme on the cold war. He called the atom-bomb "the greatest possible crime" and said: "If Dickens were alive he would be angry." He said war was out of date as a way to solve anything, as Gandhi had successfully shown in India; and "you can jail or execute all the Communists, but others will rise up calling for bread and justice." The speech "didn't go well" with the Dickensians who had expected something cozier and wittily "uncontroversial."

When Chaplin finally settled down in Vevey to write and compose his new film, he realized that his political iconoclasm had made little dent in London—but nonetheless felt warmly toward his native city where he had once again, after years of persecution by idiots in America, been treated with respect. But in the stories he told me of his return to London—wickedly imitating as he does each of the people involved—he showed the same mudlarkish disrespect for stuffed-shirts that has characterized his whole life and art. His most hilarious one was a lifelike rendering of a dialog between two noble lords over the cigars and brandy at a dinner where he was a guest, ending with this:

> "'Pon my word, Her Majesty was so wonderful at the opening of Parliament that I wanted to shout God Save the Queen."
>
> "Well, why didn't you? I would have added a few of our hear, hears."

THE CHAPLIN HOME at Vevey is at the far end of Lake Leman from Geneva where Foreign Ministers strive to relax world tensions. The mansion is set between terraced vineyards rising above it and, sloping toward the lake, a magnificent tree-girt estate with orchards, flower gardens and a swimming-pool.

The place seems almost too peaceful to be true—and it is not quite true, but Chaplin is determined that it shall be. As he and Oona walked my wife and myself through the grounds to admire the fat pears and tomatoes and the view of the Dome du Midi across the lake, salvos of rifle fire began stuttering from a few hundred yards away.

"The Swiss government thought it was a good place for an army shooting range," Charlie explained. "I disagree, and my lawyer is trying to convince them."

With this one flaw, the not-quite-American who has been a legend around the world for 40 years has found a paradise for himself, his wife with the poise of a queen and the looks of a debutante, and their five beautiful children.

AS IN THE OLD California days—before the witch-hunters' cries of "Communist!" scared most of them away—there is the procession of bluebloods and celebrities to his door, still gratifying to the East End kid that Charlie has never quite stopped being. He sees everyone who interests him in any way as a person, from the ex-Queen of Italy to Max Lerner and Max Eastman to Spanish grandee Count Bellanca (who to Charlie's delight chose a day to visit when Republican Pablo Casals was there). But when Chou En-lai was in Geneva recently it was Chaplin who paid the call.

What is new and delightful is to have London ("I love it—it's so adventurous") and Paris an hour or two away when he is in the mood for them; and his relations with the people of this Swiss community so different from Hollywood. He talked of Vevey's "cultural society" which he recently entertained en masse, and imitated puckishly but affectionately the local doctor and masseuse ("Don't swim in the lake—it's 30% urine") who perform ardently in its orchestra on cellos.

The four older children (the baby is Swiss) go to schools in Lausanne and Vevey, where the girls—as I discovered when they came trouping home—are taught to curtsey elegantly even to journalists. The house and staff of servants, nurses and gardeners, who deem it an honor as well as a pleasure to work for "Charlot," are run with luxurious efficiency by Oona. Obviously adored by Charlie, and a tension-relaxer to the manner born, she gives the impression of a deeply happy woman. She dresses simply but smartly in clothes which—while she could patronize the most costly salons in Paris—she persists in making herself.

SOMETHING IN CHARLIE, the kid from the slums, needs this luxury as testimony to his personal victory over life. He and everyone else knows that all the cost of it has come out of his own creative head, not a penny out of exploiting others.

Here he plans to write in the years ahead a play, an opera, and a book—not a life story but "describing the milestones in my spiritual development." Will it discuss his theory of art, I asked?

> "Well, my theory is that there is no theory. It will talk a lot about the theater, which in spite of all my years in movies I know more about than anything. As for the character I have created—well, you know, there has been a lot of nonsense published about it. I don't quite know what he is myself. But I do know that tragedy and comedy are really the same thing. I have built my comedy on great human tragedies. You remember **The Gold Rush.** That was based on an actual incident where some prospectors ended by eating roast shoes and finally cannibalism—but I made a funny picture of it."

HE SUMMED UP America's political witch-hunts as "so bo-oring!", and called today's America

> ". . . so terribly grim in spite of all the material prosperity. I'm not against materialism but look what the American kind has done. They no longer know how to weep. Compassion and the old neighborliness have gone. People stand by and do nothing when friends and neighbors are attacked, libeled and ruined."

Believing as he does in the kinship of tears and laughter, it was a charge also of having forgotten how to laugh.

Sometimes, recalling his ordeal, this man who above all things despises pomposity seemed to catch himself too becoming a bit pompous—and then with a switch of mood to be laughing at himself. But the feeling was deep. He said:

> "The worst thing is what it has done to the children. They are being taught to admire and emulate stoolpigeons, to betray and to hate—and all in a sickening atmosphere of religious hypocrisy."

That Chaplin despite all he has undergone has not forgotten how to laugh—and to make the world laugh—he proved to us a hundred times over with hilarious pantomimings from the new film. Now almost ready for production, it is about a de-throned king visiting the U. S. A. partly to re-charge his bank account, partly to negotiate for the use of atomic energy for peaceful construction in his country. Among other surprises in store for the little king is a lunatic charge of "communism."

IT IS CHAPLIN'S TRIUMPH that he can at the same time be personally bitter about America and, as an artist, continue to find in it an inexhaustible well of humor and human interest. The clue to it lay, I felt, in the tenderness he showed as he spoke of individual Americans. Of some he knew well, like Paul Robeson and Rockwell Kent, about whose continuing fight-back against the witch-hunt I was able to tell him; and of nameless others whose small actions or words he could not forget, or for whom he simply had pity, because he understands the frailty of a man alone before the great machines of organized cruelty.

I thought, too, of his warm smile as I had told him about his legacy to ordinary Americans that maintains a link between him and them: the much-beloved theme tune of **Limelight,** which—though never identified by the announcer—came every day over the radio of the jail where I spent my last three months in America. The mention of people in jail had made him think of another American whom he had liked and respected—the late warden of Sing Sing, Lewis E. Lawes, who once said to him: "Men who go to the chair are just the ones with no connections."

I thought that no one feels more intensely than this man—whom somebody recently called "the most loved and most hated man in the world"—his brotherhood with all victims of persecution, in America or anywhere else. Charles Chaplin is an individualist with a passionate love for human beings everywhere. Such love cannot be overwhelmed by his bitterness toward "America."

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

The visit forced another problem to the fore: the crisis created by U.S. insistence that the Philippines be elected to the Security Council seat allotted to E. Europe. Britain's move to postpone the long-deadlocked Council elections until after the Dulles-Tito talks was an effort to make more difficult continued U.S. opposition to Yugoslavia, the British and Soviet-backed candidate.

London's **New Statesman** (11/15) suggested that the deadlock could be resolved "without loss of U.S. dignity" only if the U. S. agreed to the Canadian plan on new members. The new admissions would permit enlargement of the Council from 11 to 13 members and thus open the way to a compromise. This would mean the end of Latin American dominance, on which U.S. control of the Assembly has been based—a costly price to pay, in the U.S. view. Reports said the Council race was not discussed at Brioni.

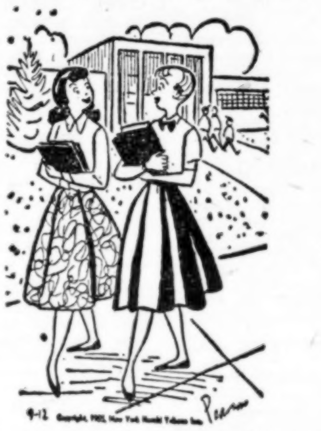
Dulles' visit, which followed Yugoslav consent to an increase in the size of the U.S. military mission (from 44 to 60 men) and arrangements for delivery of 300,000 tons of surplus U.S. wheat, also aimed to win Tito's support for U. S. policy on Germany and in the Middle East. Tito, in turn, wanted continued U.S. military aid and a moratorium on $400,000,000 in commercial debts owed the U.S., Britain and France. They agreed, at last, that the so-called "Soviet satellites" must regain their "independence."

DULLES' DREAD: A primary objective of Dulles' journeys around Europe was to make sure that no popular front governments emerge from the political weakness of France and Italy. France's present confusion stems primarily from the successful U.S.-backed effort to isolate France's largest political party, the Communists, and deprive them of any influence in government. The price of a 1946 U.S. loan was ouster of the Communists from the government; the 1951 electoral law, termed the "most dishonest in French history," and frankly aimed to destroy the Communists, reduced Communist representation in Parliament from 183 to the present 94.

(Under the 1951 law, it took more than 50,000 votes to elect a Communist deputy; less than 30,000 to elect deputies of the four governing parties. In the Lille district, for example, 107,000 Socialist votes elected five deputies; 106,000 Communist votes, none; 84,000 Popular Republican, four; and 94,000 Gaullists, none.)

Early national elections are probable as a result of Premier Faure's success in winning Assembly approval to hold them in December instead of June. But the maneuvers of his own Radical Socialist Party, under the steering of his avowed enemy, former Premier Mendes-France, and Parliament's inability or unwillingness to agree on election reform, may put the elections off till spring.

Mendes-France, whose hatred of communism is reported to be almost pathological, is engaged in trying to build an anti-Communist "left" coalition. Needing time, he wants later elections. He also demands a return to the prewar single candidate, single constituency system, since he fears even the "monstrous" 1951 law (a mixture of proportional representation and party-alliances) might help the Communists if they succeeded in forming alliances with the Socialists. Communist support of Faure's move for early elections suggested the CP also believed it will fare better under present law than under Mendes-France's proposed reform.



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Geography will be easy. They have the same old borders they had last year."

The CP, urging an alliance with the Socialists, has declared that the two parties could win all seats from 20 of France's some 90 departments. Socialist leaders will undoubtedly continue to reject co-operation with the CP; but local alliances, if permitted by the leadership, are likely—and this could be the beginning, however small, of a popular front. This would be, perhaps, the major significance of an election which, unless electoral laws are drastically reformed, will return an Assembly not much different from the present one.

DEAD END: Undeterred by the French government's weakened position at home and abroad, Foreign Minister Pinay at Geneva took a strong anti-agreement stand. The Western powers admit that they are engaged primarily in propaganda rather than negotiation, and are claiming great victories. They quickly rejected Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's proposal that both German governments be consulted at Geneva; termed "totally unacceptable" the Soviet plan for creation of an all-German Council, made up of representatives of both German parliaments, to lay the groundwork for unification and deal with domestic and foreign affairs; have yet to come up with an answer to the Soviet charge that they are interested not in "free all-German elections," as they claim, but only in incorporating a unified Germany in NATO.

Most significantly, the West promptly withdrew—the moment Molotov accepted—the Eden plan presented at the summit meeting in July. This was a plan for demilitarized zones on both sides of the East-West German demarcation line. In the same fashion, Western disarmament proposals were earlier withdrawn as soon as the U. S. S. R. accepted them.

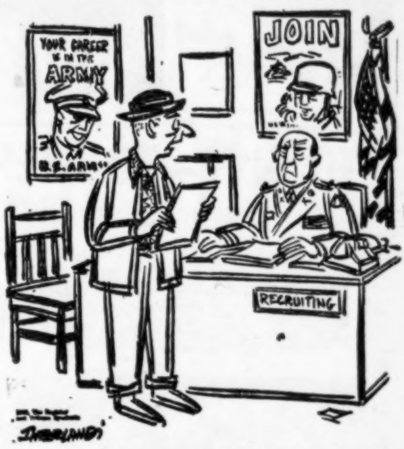
This meant that Dulles had overridden allied misgivings about his German policy and that British and French diplomacy had retreated, once again, before Washington's demand for a common anti-Soviet front. Washington thus deprived itself of any opportunity of finding a way out of the blind alley into which its German policy has led.

That the policy is in a blind alley was bluntly emphasized by two former U.S. officials in Germany in U.S. publications this month. J. F. Golay, former head of the U.S. Secretariat of the Allied High Commission, wrote (**New Republic, 11/7**):

> "Of the strong position in which we once stood to control developments in Germany, all that remains to us now is such security as is afforded by the good faith of an estimable but aged politician. . . . The hard fact [is] that we are able to do nothing to promote reunification, whereas the Russians are able to do everything and much else too, that the Germans desire. . . . [Once W. Germany is rearmed] it is we, not the Russians, who will have the most pressing need to come to an understanding on the status of Germany and a European Security system. Our leaders apparently do not grasp this point. . . . They do not even trouble to make cut a decent case for themselves."

Richard G. Leonard, former chief of finance division, U.S. High Commission, wrote (Wall St. **Journal**, 11/2) that W. Germany will remain in NATO only so long as U. S. troops are stationed there and that a united Germany "will almost surely be a neutral Germany." If the Soviet stand at Geneva "moves us to reconsider our German policy," he added, it "could be a blessing in disguise."

REAPPRAISE MID-EAST TOO: The patent failure of Washington's German policy coincides with what Walter Lippmann has suggested (11/1) "may prove to be a setback for the influence of the West second only to what happened on the mainland of China"—that is, the emergence of the U.S.S.R. as a power in the Middle East. Whether we like it or not, said Lippmann, "the Soviet Union will now be present and participating on equal terms in the diplomacy of the Middle East." She has very strong cards, Lippmann said, not the least, the fact that she is "herself a shining example of an under-developed country which has developed itself quickly." Lippmann demanded "an agonizing reappraisal" of the whole U.S. policy of military pacts to "contain" the U. S. S. R.



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Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"I don't get these new 'rules of conduct for a prisoner of war'—I thought there weren't going to be any more wars. . . !"

The Western powers, which have maintained their grip on the oil-rich and strategic Middle East in part by classic "divide and rule" tactics, are attempting to put responsibility for renewed Egypt-Israel warfare on the U.S.S.R. But Marquis Childs (N. Y. **Post**, 11/2) noted that "from the Israeli perspective it was the mistaken effort of the West to play for power in the Middle East which touched off the present crisis."

Molotov has promised Israeli Foreign Minister Sharett that "Israel would not be hurt" by Soviet trade (including arms) and economic agreements with Arab countries. His suggestion for a conference of the Big Four with Israel, Egypt and other Arab states has been ignored by the Western powers. But it is only through such agreement—and not through the maintenance of exclusive Western colonial control with its inevitable promotion of national and racial tensions—that peace in the Middle East may be ultimately assured.

●

American beauties

DETROIT, MICH.

The most educational paper is the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. But many ladies, when they come in the beauty shop, take it to read for a few moments and let it go. It will take a few thousand years for the people to learn a little horse sense.
R. S.

Man the pulpits and put the ink away

THE International Council of the Christian Churches will oppose the visiting of Russian church dignitaries to this country, planned for the near future. They claim that the Russian church dignitaries are agents of the Communist Party. . . . They say:

"To admit to this country these 'summit' church leaders and to permit them to use the pulpits of the land will give the Communist Party the same use of the pulpit it has in Russia. A Christian pulpit in a free land should not be a rostrum for a Communist Party agent. . . ."

All of which seems to be good Americanism, if it is poor Christianity.

Orlando (Fla.) **Reporter**, Oct. 15.

• • • •

I SEE by the papers that we are planning another exchange of Russian visitors. This time it will be engineers and newspaper people. But they will come on diplomatic passports because the Russians feel that fingerprinting is only for criminals. . . .

I am beginning to wonder if it is really necessary to insist on fingerprinting for everybody. It is a messy business, as I well know, for I went to get a pistol permit the other day at my local police precinct. . . . Since I am a free American citizen I did not mind being put in the class of criminals as far as fingerprinting went. . . . But I can understand how foreigners feel. . . .

Eleanor Roosevelt in the Verdun (Canada) Guardian, Oct. 13.

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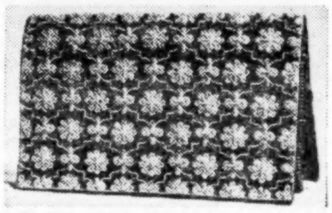

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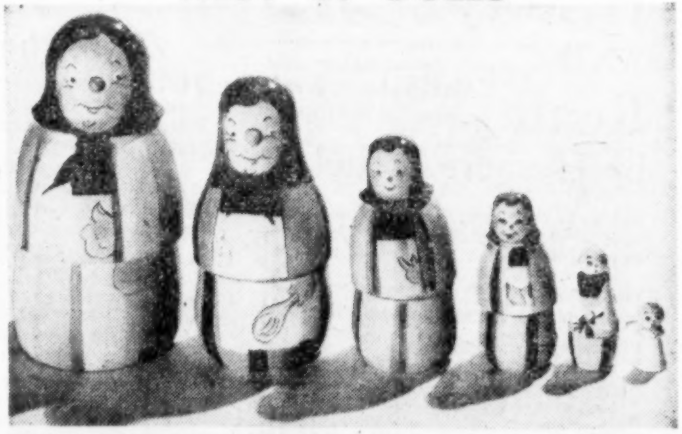

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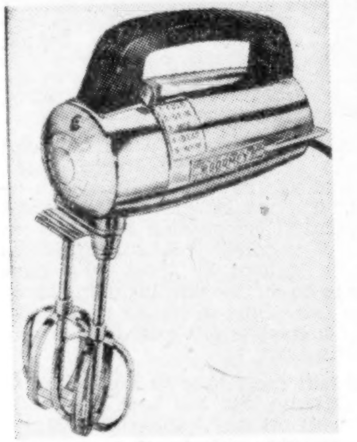

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Solves your gift problem: for office, home and school. Has polished metal cap and clip; choice of black or medium blue.

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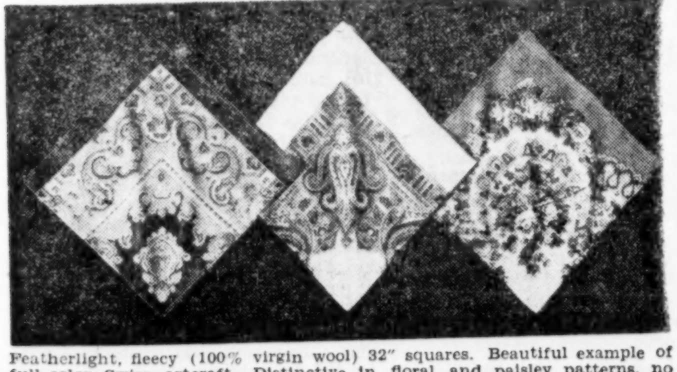

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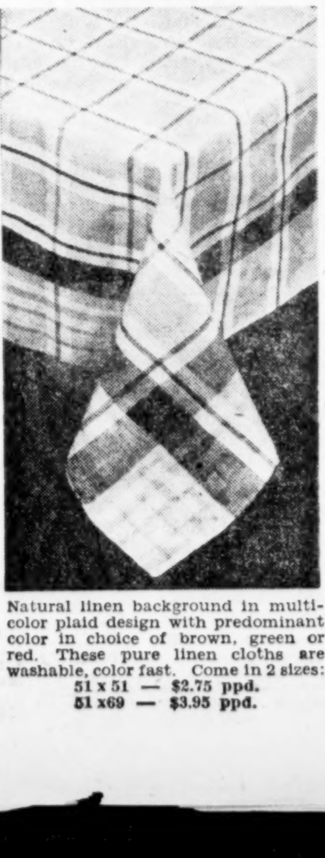

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JOSEPH STAROBIN'S NEW BOOK

'Paris to Peking'—and a moral

By Kumar Goshal

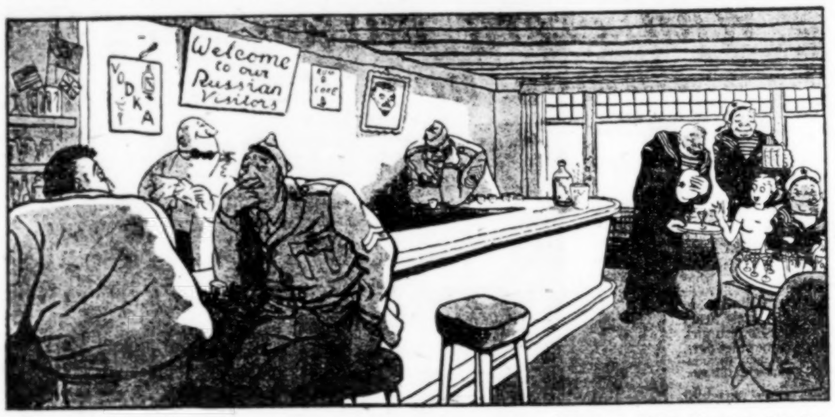
JOSEPH STAROBIN's new book* covers the period 1952-54, during which he twice visited China and traveled in France, Italy and the Soviet Union. About a third of the 280-page book deals with France and Italy; the rest is devoted to China.

Readers of his previous book, **Eyewitness in Indo-China**, will find in this one the same observant eye, the blending of theory and personal experience, the presentation of significant statistical data in terms of human activity and achievement. Starobin gives facts and figures about the French and Italian economy and describes the political scene in both countries.

ROLE OF THE LEFT: What impressed Starobin most about these two countries was the role played by the Left. In France, he found "the Communist position . . . very strong relative to any other single force, but it has no allies which approach it in strength." "The Communist vote in parliament," Starobin writes, "can be used skillfully to coincide with that of other parties"; but Communists are not taken into the Cabinet "as their position among the electorate warrants."

In Italy, however, Starobin says, a strong Communist party allied with Pietro Nenni's strong Socialist party has increased "the maneuverability of the Left," making it impossible for anything being "done in this land without the Left, or against the Left."

THE CHANGE IN CHINA: Starobin devotes the greater part of his book to "a whole body of ideas, as well as a monumental experience, [which] were involved in what was happening in China." He gives a wealth of information about China in the throes of reconstruction: the rapid building of a modern economy; land reform; treatment of minorities; education and sanitation; the vast irrigation and power projects; culture and education; what "self-criticism" really means; the character of the coalition government led by the Communist party, and the composition of the other parties.


Welcome to our Russian Visitors
VODKA

Giles in Daily Express, London

THE RUSSIAN FLEET IS WELCOMED TO ENGLAND
"I know someone's Chick who'll be up on a charge for un-American activities."

Being a Marxist and not a Utopian, Starobin does not present an idyllic picture of a feudal society in transition towards socialism. He points out the existence of corruption and inefficiency within and outside the government, as there was bound to be in a China just emerging from chaos. The significant thing, however, was that these evils were being rooted out fast with the least social and economic dislocation; even more significant was the fact that there was greater stress on rehabilitation and reform of the guilty than on punishment. He writes:

> "Few people were removed from their posts, for the object of the criticism was to get a better quality of work and not simply the replacement of the individual offender."

NEW HOPE: Starobin says he began his book on May 10, 1952, when, according to a **Collier's Weekly** article (10/27/51). World War III was to have broken out. "Without making too much of the irony of coincidence," he points out that the manuscript of the book was ready for re-typing on May 11, 1955, by which time **Collier's** predictions were thoroughly discredited. World War III had not taken place; the Geneva summit meeting was scheduled in two month's time, where "the basis would be laid for ending the cold war"; "an era of peace, quite unprecedented in human history," would be at hand "if the promise of Geneva were realized," although to realize it "a great process of political struggle would be required."

"What is happening now," Starobin writes, "results from the new constellation of forces that came into being" after World War II in countries that truly uprooted fascism and among peoples who have shed feudalism and colonialism. Starobin says:

> "Archimedes would have been impressed with this lever of historical action that stretches from Paris to Moscow to Peking. . . . Paris, the heart of Europe, is the stronghold of the democratic tradition which has century-old roots in the West, and constitutes one end of the lever. Its fulcrum has been Socialist Russia. . . . Beyond a doubt, the Soviet possession of the same weapons of annihilation as our own country has made the stalemate out of which peace is possible. . . . At the far end of the lever is the titanic revolution of China, in which one out of every four members of the human family has been enlisted. . . . From Paris to Peking stretches a solidarity of peoples which rises above present differences of social system. . . . To this new reality, America must adjust itself."

FOR A NEW EVALUATION: "To end the cold war abroad," Starobin writes, "the cold war at home will have to be ended." The market-place of ideas and free political competition among them must be restored. Political injustices must be righted by those who have power to do so. "No one, including those on the Left also, can escape the obligation of a creative self-examination and self-criticism."

The Left must take "a fresh look at how effective [it] has been in associating with others." "Above all," Starobin says,

> ". . . nothing lasting can be accomplished unless it is in the temper, the language, the tradition of our people. . . . It requires projecting a valid program, and developing new habits of thought and behavior."

Declaring that joint effort for American progress is impossible by "ostracizing Marxists," Starobin writes:

> "[Marxists] on the other hand, can neither conceal nor dilute what they stand for. In asserting their right to be what they are, they are asserting a defense of our people's whole history and undeniable record. . . . The big problems remain for Americans themselves to solve; no other people can make our history for us, and nobody wants to."

Readers of this book will look forward to Starobin's next book, in which he promises to develop in detail the ideas in his last chapter.

Paris to Peking includes some delightful Chinese woodcuts and paper cutouts, and a servicable bibliography; an index would have been helpful.

**PARIS TO PEKING, by Joseph Starobin, Cameron Associates, Inc.,* 100 *W. 23d St., N.Y.C.* 11. 280 *pp.* $3.75.

WILLIS McCALL HIDES AGAIN

Shooting of 10 Florida citrus workers climaxes packers' 'cheap labor' drive

By Eugene Gordon

CIO PACKINGHOUSE Workers' James A. Luke on the night of Oct. 19 was telling a meeting of 25 Negro citrus pickers at Umatilla, Lake County, Fla., why they should be in the union. Quiet was shattered by the crash of shotgun blasts and shattering windows. Ten workers were wounded, 24-year-old Artis Griffin with 30 birdshot pellets in the left side and arm. Four windows across the room of the little Masonic lodge building were blown out. Witnesses said four white men in a car with covered-over license plates had stopped near the place and put on masks before shooting.

Lake County Sheriff Willis V. McCall's office ignored union requests to investigate. But Gov. LeRoy Collins, prodded by labor and the press, wired McCall for a report; he was told that the sheriff had left with his wife on a pleasure-boat trip right after the shooting and had ordered his staff to do and say nothing until he returned.

NEGRO-HATER: Umatilla-born 46-year-old McCall is a member of the Elks, Kiwanis Club, Federal State Inspection Assn., Chamber of Commerce, Masons and the Scottish Rites, and president of the Florida Sheriffs Assn.

First elected sheriff in 1942, he has been twice re-elected. The St. Petersburg **Times** (10/29) urged his defeat when he runs again because McCall's "racial views, his prejudice and his bigotry encourage the kind of violence" that flared at Umatilla. He should, says the paper, "use the same vim and vigor in finding and arresting [the gunmen] as he did in the now famous Groveland case."

The Groveland—"Little Scottsboro"—case began with the July 6, 1949, posse-killing of Ernest Thomas and the arrests of Charles Greenlee, Walter Lee Irvin and Samuel Shepherd, allegedly for beating a young white man and raping his wife. The St. Petersburg paper last week recalled praising the sheriff for sitting on the jail steps and successfully pleading with the mob to "let the law handle this case, boys, let justice be done."

THE KILLER: The **Times**, which from the first has doubted the Groveland prisoners' guilt, recalls that the trial was held "amid charges that confessions had been beaten out of them and that defense witnesses had been scared out of the state or into silence," presumably by Sheriff McCall. It said:

> "The state's case failed to convince us that the sheriff had the right men, but a Lake County jury convicted them. Two were sentenced to die, a third to life imprisonment because of his age. The case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which reversed the verdict and ordered a new trial."

Sheriff McCall, transporting Irvin and Shepherd from Raiford prison for retrial, shot both. Irvin survived. A plea for commutation based on doubt of his guilt is now before Florida's Pardon Board.

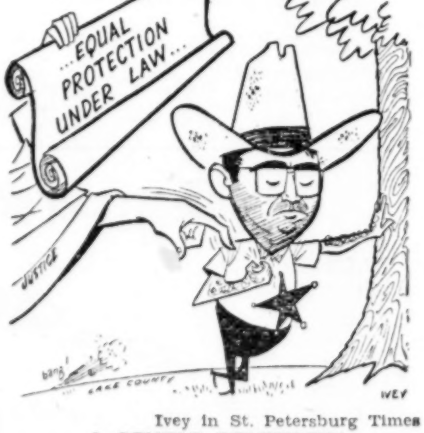
McCall's insistence that it's nobody's business but his what goes on in Lake County is backed by his deeds. He has attacked efforts of a white ministers' committee to save Irvin's life; ordered five children into a jimcrow school because he doubted they were Cherokee Indians; raided the offices of a local newspaper which helped the children.

THE AIM—LOW WAGES: While helping fellow-Floridian and "Natl. Assn. for Advancement of White People" founder Bryant Bowles to inflame Wilmington, Del., mobs against school integration, he winked that he hadn't yet solved the killings of Harry T. and Harriet Moore. The NAACP leaders were bomb-murdered while they slept on Christmas eve, 1951, at Mims, Lake County. McCall had the aid of the FBI.

Events in and around Florida's orange groves prove, as the Negro San Francisco **Sun-Reporter** (10/29) pointed out, that citrus growers "are interested in having crops harvested for as little as possible," whether workers be black or white. They don't want their cheap labor organized, "so they took matters into their own hands" and tried to murder the organizer and scare the workers. The "little as possible" which growers pay for picking one box of budded oranges is 15c; 25c for seedlings. James Luke was telling the unorganized pickers that as union members they may soon get 20 cents for a box of budded and 40 for a box of seedlings. The union is talking about a strike to compel increases. Since this is the peak of the citrus-picking season, employers are mad enough to kill. A strike would involve pickers, truck drivers and grove workers.

Though blaming union field representative Otis Nation and the UPW for the shooting, McCall has threatened to "get" Nation and to "protect" Lake County from "Communist" union meetings. The reason why Luke spoke instead of Nation at Umatilla was that McCall had ordered Nation to stay out of Lake County.

THE "OUTSIDERS": Florida grove workers' wages were raised by one-third in the 1951-52 season through organization. Since then packinghouse operators have flooded the market with workers from Jamaica and the Bahamas and wages were cut.



Ivey in St. Petersburg Times

A GENTLE REMINDER!

Nine thousand off-shore laborers were brought into Florida, "none of whom were needed," Nation told the Orlando **Sentinel** (10/22). He said the state's entire crop could be harvested by 15,000 "native pickers" in 30 weeks. The operators use the outsiders to keep wage-rates down and to maintain a pool of unemployed. In addition to workers from the West Indies, the operators are seeking 15,000 to 20,000 workers from other Southern states. Nation said the union's first consideration is to get jobs for all Florida workers and then higher wages and better working conditions.

Florida Packinghouse locals have both Negro and white members. The union has a $1,500,000 strike fund.

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THE SACB HEARING

Washington Pension Union wins a point: charge that CP founded it is tossed out

ALTHOUGH the Washington Pension Union is now being tried as a "communist-front" organization before the Subversive Activities Control Board in Seattle, it plans no let-up in its work for senior citizens while awaiting the outcome. The Union announced on Oct. 20 that it was sending a delegation to a conference of pension organizations in 11 Western states scheduled for Los Angeles Nov. 4-5. WPU president C. H. Fisher will head his state's delegation.

The Los Angeles conference was to muster support for the Kefauver-Roosevelt bill to overhaul the public assistance section of the Federal Social Security Act. Among other things it would boost state pensions (with federal assistance) to $100 a month; lower the age limit for women applicants from 65 to 62; permit earnings up to $50 a month without deductions; outlaw liens on pensioners' homes up to $5,000 assessed value; and outlaw the practice of publishing pensioners' names.

U. S. LOSES A POINT: The Justice Dept., which is seeking to force the WPU to register as a "communist-front" under the Internal Security Act of 1950, concluded its case on Oct. 19 and the defense was given until Nov. 7 to prepare its rebuttal. Sixteen motions to dismiss all or parts of the government's case were denied by Harry P. Cain, who is presiding at the hearings as a one-man panel. But Cain did strike out the government's contention that the Communist Party itself, working in secret, founded the WPU in 1937. Said Cain:

> "There is no real or substantial evidence establishing that the Pension Union was conceived and planned as a program or project of the Communist Party in advance of the activities leading to its eventual formation."

Defense attorney Jay G. Sykes argued his motion for dismissal on the ground "that there is no direct, tangible evidence of the domination of the Pension Union by the Communist Party." He added:

> "We will concede two things that have never really been at issue . . . that the Communist Party was interested in the Pension Union, and that there were Communists in the Pension Union. However, interest does not constitute domination."

MRS. HARTLE'S ROLE: Chief government witness was Mrs. Barbara Hartle, one-time CP leader who became an informer after she was convicted under the Smith Act in 1953. Now serving a five-year sentence, she is expected to win an early parole for her current work. She frequently contradicted herself on the stand and under cross-examination admitted that she has no knowledge of CP-WPU affairs since July, 1950 (when the Internal Security Act was passed) and that she could not now identify any present members of the Pension Union as Communists. She also revealed total ignorance of the Pension Union's social security program and could not name any item advanced by the Union in six initiatives it placed on the ballot, two of which were enacted into law.

Government witness H. C. Armstrong, one-time Communist, swore that the Party secretly planned the WPU's formation, but two other government witnesses, James T. Sullivan, the organization's first president, and Howard G. Costigan, both testified that the CP actually opposed its formation at the time.

NINE-YEAR CAREER: Costigan, once a noted progressive political figure in the Pacific Northwest and now a publicist in Hollywood, took credit for conceiving the WPU and said:

> "I did not form the Pension Union at the dictate of the Communist Party, but in spite of the Party."

Several of the government's witnesses described themselves as former undercover agents for the FBI in the Communist Party. One, Clark Harper, said he received between $18,000 and $19,000 from the FBI over a nine-year period. He won some notoriety in 1953 when he held a Communist Party meeting in his home the evening before he turned up as a surprise government witness in the 1953 Seattle Smith Act trial.

THE CAIN BIAS: Pension Union leaders are continuing a public campaign for a recess or postponement of the hearings until the Supreme Court rules on the constitutionality of the McCarran Act. In addition, they plan to challenge Cain to disqualify himself as hearing officer. As U.S. Senator from Washington, Cain in 1949 said in testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee:

> "I would like to point out to this committee that the Washington Pension Union is one of the most notorious communist-front organizations in our state and its entire high command has been identified as belonging to the Communist Party before the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee." (**Congressional Record,** March 3, 1949, p. 1771).

Through newspaper ads and other means, WPU leaders are urging that protests be sent to Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell and to Harry P. Cain, Hearing Officer, SACB, Federal Court House, Seattle, Wash.

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AUTHOR AND LECTURER

George Marion is dead at 50

THE GOOD FIGHT lost one of its most effective fighters when author George Marion, well-known to GUARDIAN readers through his books and lecture tours, died of a heart attack Nov. 2 in New York. He had just finished typing the concluding paragraphs of a preface to a new edition of his most recent book, **Stop the Press!**, to be published in Czechoslovakia. He arose from his work and remarked to his wife, Betty, "I've put too much physical and mental energy into this." Then he collapsed and died. He was 50 years old.

His best-known previous works were **Bases & Empire**; a Chart of American Expansion; **The Communist Trial**; an American Crossroads; and, in 1950, **All Quiet in the Kremlin**, a report of an extended visit to the Soviet Union. St. Louis-born and raised in the Midwest, he became a seaman, free lance writer and world traveler. He worked for a time in the 30's for Havas, the French news agency in Paris, and covered the Spanish civil war for U. S. newspapers and magazines including the N. Y. **Daily Worker**, where he later worked for a year as a staff writer. He spent six years on Hearst's N. Y. **Daily Mirror**, quitting in 1946 to write a powerful pamphlet called **The "Free Press"**: Portrait of a Monopoly.

His **Stop the Press!** was published in 1953 as Vol. I of a project to be called **The Next Hundred Years.** The new 2,000-word preface which he had just finished when he died (see below for concluding paragraphs) will be published here and included with the remaining copies of the U. S. edition of **Stop the Press!**, available at $3 postpaid from Fairplay Publishers, 165 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

Welcome

DEMING, N. M.

Enclosed find $10 for the cause. Someone sent me the NATIONAL GUARDIAN six months ago. Not since the **American Freeman** have I seen a paper as fearless as yours. I hope to help along getting a new subscriber, or more if I can.

Ethel M. Walsh

AT CARNEGIE HALL

Ray Lev piano concert Nov. 18

RAY LEV, pianist, will give her annual New York concert at Carnegie Hall the evening of Fri., Nov. 18, at 8:30 p.m. The varied program will include works by Bach, Mozart, Schubert, Chopin, Ravel, Bartok and Rachmaninoff. Tickets, priced from $1.15 to $3.45, are available at the box office.

Miss Lev was invited last February to be a judge at the 5th Intl. Chopin competition in Warsaw, Poland. Other judges included Marguerite Long and Lazar Levy of France, Lev Oborin of the Soviet Union, and the Queen Mother of Belgium.

The National Guardian's
7th Anniversary Dinner

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Chanukah concert in B'klyn Dec. 10

THE Jewish People's Philharmonic Chorus, under the direction of Eugene Malek, will perform **The Ballad of Asser Levy**, composed by Paul Held, to a poem by Yuri Suhl at its annual Schaefer - Chanukah concert, Sat. evening, Dec. 10, at New York's Town Hall.

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IN MEMORIAM

GEORGE MARION, liberal author and journalist, did a writer's job and more—he wrote, published and toured the country with his books (because the big publishers and press feared and suppressed them), and the effort killed him. He died a few minutes after finishing the following final paragraphs of a preface to a Czech edition of his Stop the Press! *Had he lived, we should have felt impelled to argue with some of his statements below; and he most certainly would have expounded his views forcefully in reply. Though the opportunity for that is unhappily past, we welcome this opportunity to bring to readers of the GUARDIAN what were, literally, George Marion's last written words:*

I HAVE WRITTEN, in the present volume, and in earlier works, what I regard as the truth about the "free" press. It makes harsh reading; it amounts to an indictment. All the more then should I—and so should all progressives who similarly spend much of their energies exposing the undemocratic realities behind the gold-plated facade of bourgeois democracy —cling to the good essence that survives the abuse and exploitation. The democratic essence is good: the freedom of personal movement, freedom of communication, freedom of expression that remain the **spirit** of American life even in these times of Fascist-like repression, are not to be matched anywhere else in the world.

I carefully considered my words before making that formulation. I am well aware that some progressives abroad—and, worse yet, all too many sectarian progressives right here—will be shocked at my words. I can't help that. Surely no one will suspect me—who cannot even get a passport!—of shutting my eyes to reality. I have travelled over much of this earth, and I choose my words with all regard for the difficulty you, for instance, may have in reconciling what I say here with what I say throughout this book. You will appreciate that I cannot hope here—that would be another book!—to justify: I state my opinion, nothing more. My opinion, my conclusion.

And my most important conclusion is that I hope the men of the Socialist world and men of Socialist sympathies in the capitalist world will alike seize upon all such proffers as that now made by Mr. Dulles to widen international interchange. The motives of Mr. Dulles—and behind him, of the Messrs. duPont and Rockefeller—don't matter. The risks inherent in "equal" exchanges between powers with unequal resources, unequal industrial development, unequal communications facilities, must of course be weighed by those who will bear the responsibility for wrong decisions. But the lesson of American history, as I see it, comes down to this: Open the doors wider and wider; the truth will come through; knowledge will come through; the warm love of human for human will come through. The overpowering desire of all the ordinary human beings of this earth to live in peace, to know one another and collaborate with one another in building the kind of world that everyone knows we now have the resources to build, will triumph over any dark designs of the petty connivers. It will triumph even over the persistently cynical headlines of the freely regimented press.

That is why I am "for" more exchange. It is also why I now feel that there is even something new to be said about the American press—enough to warrant writing a foreword. And, while I don't like to indulge in prophecy, I begin to believe that, before I die, it may even be possible to write another chapter to this book itself!

IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE for George Marion to do so. But we think, we hope, we believe that this is a foreword for chapters and books to be written by others, who will carry on where he left off.

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CALENDAR

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Chicago

CARL MARZANI says: "We Will Be Friends" at annual November Friendship celebration. Fri., Nov. 18, Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams, 8:15 p.m. Hear Elizabeth Woodard, just back from U. S. S. R. Also musical program. Admission: $1.

DAVID OISTRAKH, top Soviet violinist. Orchestra Hall, Mon. eve., Nov. 28. Tues., Nov. 29. Choice seats from Chicago Amer.-Sov. Friendship, 189 W. Madison. An 3-1878. Boxes $6, main floor $5, balcony $4 and $3, gallery $2.

SQUARE DANCE, Professional Caller —Sat., Nov. 19, 8:30 p.m., at 301 N. Mayfield (5900 West). Sponsor: Northwest Peace Committee.

Detroit

ANNUAL LABOR PRESS BAZAAR. Sat., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. "All Nations Music Festival.' Sun., Nov. 20, 10 a.m. - Brunch; 3 p.m. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, nationally known Negro leader. Do your Xmas shopping early; new merchandise meals served both days at Snack Bar. Admission 50c each day. Auspices: Labor Press Committee, 2419 Grand River, Detroit 1.

LECTURE BY JOSEPH STAROBIN, Fri., Nov. 18, 8 p.m. Review of the Month Forum, 3737 Woodward Av.

Los Angeles

PROGRESSIVE BOOKSHOP FORUM —Dr. Holland Roberts lectures on "PAVLOV'S CONTRIBUTION TO OUR MENTAL, PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL HEALTH." Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m., South Hall, Embassy Auditorium, 9th & Grand (9th St. entrance). Tickets 50c. at Progressive Bookshop, 1806 W. 7th. For reservations call DU. 2-7431. All tickets dated Nov. 18 will be honored.

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San Francisco-Bay Area

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New York

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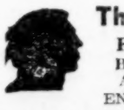

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ABOARD THE SS RYNDAM

AS WE PULLED OUT of New York Harbor last Saturday, people—Europeans and Americans—crowded at the rail to see the Statue of Liberty and complained that our ship did not pass close enough to Her. Perhaps it is just as well, for if we had, they would have seen what I think I alone saw from the distance: our Lady was blinking back furtive tears—tears for the harassed, for the humiliated and socially ostracised, for the black-listed, for the foreign-born and exiled (perhaps even a tear for me)—and for those who are behind bars in the Land of Liberty, not for crimes they have committed, but for ideas they have advocated. There was a tear, I suspect, for Herself, too, for if America were to cease to be the Land of the Free, who would need Her to light up the harbor? She herself would be among the exiles.

I left the U. S. to join my husband in England after 19 months of involuntary separation. I believe the State Dept. intended that we should be permanently separated when they effected my "blitz repatriation" from Ceylon. If we are meeting tomorrow—on what we hope is the fist lap of our journey, however long, back to Ceylon—it is largely because the NATIONAL GUARDIAN focussed the light of truth on this case. It is from the pages of the GUARDIAN that the avalanche of support, here and abroad, which has warmed our lives and propelled us forward to this reunion, has emanated. We cannot express our gratitude for that in words, but shall try to in the work we hope to accomplish together.

THE AMERICA I ARRIVED IN on that day in March, 1954, seemed to me to be a silent country. But the one I left is one in which the people are finding their tongues—which can be very sharp—again. The America I arrived in and the Socialist part of the world were more or less out of bounds to each other. But during those 19 months Americans had welcomed to their heart a Soviet farm delegation; and their thunderous applause for the magical music of Gilels, great Soviet pianist, was echoing in concert halls throughout our land. American Congressmen, for their part, were discovering in Eastern Europe that "it works"—and that whether or not they like "it," the people do.

Nineteen months ago I would as easily have imagined Sen. Ellender of Louisiana discovering that the grain grows high in Rumania as I might have imagined him taking a trip, unaided, to the moon. Or, for that matter, Sen. Malone telling the State Dept. to mind its own business, and wandering off to Sofia to keep an appointment he had made in Budapest.

All of this is bound to create pretty rough going for the official myth-makers, for what is going to happen to the "imminence" of the perpetual "imminent danger?" Will not the soil become rather rocky for the artificial cultivation of hysteria—and will not the equation of "Communist" with "subversive" and "spy" expose itself as a pretty peurile fraud?

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE may have been less than vigilant during the past years in protecting their precious right to dissent, their right of advocacy. They have permitted public officials "vested," as Justice Black has said, "with powers to select the ideas people can think about . . . or choose the people or groups people can associate with," to become "public masters" instead of "public servants."

But looking back at our Statue, as we sailed away, I seemed to detect a new, stern quality about her, a new rigidity of the spine. For if I could see it in the U. S. I left, I am sure that it could not escape Her: the signs, unmistakable, of gathering resistance to the usurpation by authority of power over the American mind.

America is not an easy country for one with confidence in the future to leave. I intend to return for the trial of my suit against the TWA—and if, by then, the Walter-McCarran Act has been repealed, my husband, Joseph de Silva, might be able to come with me—without regard for the color of his skin or the color of his politics or the character of his fingerprints.

Then he would be able to find out for himself what I have meant when I have spoken of "GUARDIAN readers."

Rhoda Miller de Silva

ROCKWELL KENT'S FIGHT

Chaplin calls denial of right to travel an 'inhuman' act

WHEN a U. S. art gallery has an overflow crowd, that's news. That's what happened Sunday, Oct. 30, despite drenching weather, at Manhattan's Art for Today gallery for the final day of Rockwell Kent's two-week exhibit under auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberty Committee's Right to Travel Fund. The announced purpose of Kent's exhibit was to help finance an ECLC court fight for his right to a passport, denied him since he attended the Stockholm Peace Conference in 1949.

In far off Geneva before the exhibit opened, Cedric Belfrage told Charles Chaplin about it and here's what the exiled film artist said in a message to Americans:

"The natural right of every free man to travel is being violated more and more by the unscrupulous withholding of passports. The situation is most alarming. For every American today, whether he knows it or not, is a prisoner on probation, with a chain around his leg to be drawn in by a jailer at any time he may disagree with the political policy-makers who are in temporary power. And who knows that what we agree about today, we may disagree about tomorrow.

"Such international artists as Paul Robeson and Rockwell Kent, whose art is a credit to America and whose art has enriched understanding between America and Europe, are chained by this vicious and dangerous policy. To deny the right to travel to Americans held in such general respect abroad, is stupid and inhuman. It destroys American prestige and creates doubt and suspicion in the countries whose friendship America most needs.

"This is not a plea alone for American artists in chains, but for every American over whose fundamental freedom this menacing shadow is creeping.

"The violation of the right to travel affects every aspect of American democracy and freedom. That is why nothing can be of greater importance than this effort by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee."

Charles Chaplin

May God send it forth . . .

Sean O'Casey wrote the following to Martha Dodd, author of "The Searching Light," Citadel Press, N. Y. $3.50.

I LIKED your book. It is powerful, lighting up a dark corner of American life—un-American really; for if we look into the best minds that America has given to the world, we see that those who put tests and ask bully-questions, are not of heaven or of the American earth, earthy: they have no attachment to men or women. . . . They belong to the world of humbug and hatred.

It is a vivid book, and the characters stand out in the light and in the darkness too. . . . There are fine descriptions of the campus and of the earth round about: the murmur or swish of the trees' foliage, and the smell of the earth when it is damp, when frost bites it, or the sun expands what it bears with warmth. It gives the characters who walk on it a fine background, and joins them to its harshness and its loving fruitfulness.

And, of course, the whole tale of the decay of honesty and the strengthening of true manhood and womanhood is told calmly and told well.

An Irishman, of course, above all, cannot abide informers (though we, too, have had many): and a pitiful lot they have always shown themselves to be; no less so in your country as in mine.

A fine book, and may God send it forth into many places, and provoke a desire to read it in many minds.

NEW PLAY IN NEW YORK

'Trouble in Mind'

A HILARIOUS comedy by Alice Childress, **Trouble in Mind,** full of wit and good theater, opened last week at the Greenwich Mews Theater, 141 W. 13th St. in Manhattan. It is a play about the casting of Negro actors for an Uncle Tom play and, in its play-within-a-play technique, etches an acid picture of the lot of Negro actors today. Rarely in the grim theater of the last years has laughter been used so well to make such a sharp social comment.

Against a properly dismal backstage set, the play is briskly performed by a fine group of actors. Miss Childress directed with Clarice Taylor, who turns in an excellent performance too as a veteran actress who finally takes off her own Negro-Mammy protective armor plate. There are other good performances by Hilda Haynes, Liam Lenihan, Charles Bettis, Howard Augusta, Stephanie Elliot and James McMahon, in the difficult role of a neurotic director.

The play is performed at the Mews every eve. except Monday & Friday; there is no admission, but contributions are gratefully accepted at the door by the hard-working company.

By all means go to see **Trouble in Mind**; it is writing in the Langston Hughes spirit that has helped so many people to a less mechanical and more human understanding of the Negro people.

—James Aronson

Check GBS for GIFTS
See pages 6 and 7

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